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## JPRS Report

# **Soviet Union**

**Political Affairs** 

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### **Soviet Union**Political Affairs

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TaSSR Supreme Soviet on Increasing Monetary Support to Indigent Mothers, Large Families 18300308 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet examined the issue of the activity of the TaSSR social security organs with respect to the organization of payments of allowances, the registration and drawing up of materials for awards to mothers with large families.

In the decree that was adopted it is noted that work is being done by the social security organs on the realization of the policy of the party and the Soviet state on the further increase of assistance to large and indigent families and single mothers. In 1987 alone, more than 250 million rubles were spent for these purposes.

At the same time, serious shortcomings and omissions exist in the activity of the social security organs of the republic. A number of them lack the proper order in the review of applications by citizens.

Frequently allowances are designated by the social security organs on the basis of insufficiently drawn up documents and the payment periods are incorrectly determined. As a result of which overpayments or underpayments of allowances are permitted.

For example, the social security department of the Tursunzade City Soviet of People's Deputies during the past year incorrectly fixed a one-time and monthly allowance to eight mothers with large families and underpaid them by 523 rubles. Cases of this sort occurred in the social security departments of the Khovalingskiy and Voseyskiy Rayon Soviets.

Cases are being permitted where mothers, whose children are fully provided for by state social security, are being granted allowances. During the past 2 years alone, the TaSSR Ministry of Finance, in the course of audits, uncovered illegal payments of 21,000, the Tajik Trade Union Council—23.7 million rubles. Especially numerous are the violations in the work on the payment of allowances to indigent families in the enterprises and farms of the TaSSR State Agroindustrial Committee.

There are numerous shortcomings in the work in the delivery and payment of allowances to large families on the part of the post office branches. Thus, during the first quarter of the current year, the sixth branch of the city of Dushanbe failed to pay 39 our of 132 orders amounting to 1,383 rubles. In the course of an audit in the post office branch No 24 of Ordzhonikidzeabad, unpaid allowances to 31 mothers were uncovered.

A lack of control and the lack of coordination of the social security and post office organs in the payment of allowances led to the loss and appropriation of funds allotted by the state to mothers with large families. For example, in the post office branch No 28 of Gissarskiy Rayon, according to the document on a rayon social security department audit of 39 postal orders, the misappropriations came to more than 1,000 rubles. However, the ispolkoms of the local Soviets rarely study the state of affairs at the local level.

There are also omissions in the organization of the registration and drawing up of materials for awards to mothers with large families.

These shortcomings were noted in Voseyskiy, Kumsangirskiy, Pyandzhskiy, Nauskiy, Matchinskiy, Ashtskiy, Zafarobodskiy and several other rayons of the republic.

The TaSSR Ministry of Social Security and its oblast departments failed to take effective measures to improve the work in regard to the payment of allowances and the elimination of existing shortcomings in this matter.

In the decree that was adopted the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet called the attention of the TaSSR Ministry of Social Security (comrade B. R. Akhmadaliyev) to the weak organization of the work in regard to the payment of allowances, the registration and drawing up of the materials for awards to mothers with large families and demanded the elimination of the noted shortcomings jointly with the the executive committees of the the oblast, rayon, and city Soviets of People's Deputies.

The executive committees of the oblast, rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies of the republic have been ordered to improve the management of the social security departments.

The Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet obliged the TaSSR Ministry of Communications (comrade D. I. Popov) to take concrete measures in regard to getting things in proper order in the work of the post office branches and communications centers in the securing of timely payments of allowances.

To the TaSSR State Agroindustrial Committee and the departments of the republic, jointly with the trade union organs, it was recommended that they intensify the activity of the commissions on the fixing of allowances in the enterprises within their jurisdiction and that they improve the work of the book-keeping and auditing services so as to exclude any posibility of violations in the payment of funds that are being allotted by the state in the form of assistance to mothers with large families and indigent families.

#### Historian Outlines Stalin's Destruction of Comintern

18300330a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Jun 88 pp 3-4

[Article by A. Latyshev, candidate of historical sciences: "The Tragedy of the Comintern"]

[Text] The time of revolutionary perestroyka urgently requires the objective analysis of the development of Soviet society since 1917, and the restoration of historical justice with respect to all the persons who played a role in the history of the Soviet state, primarily those who headed the masses of the people in the October Revolution and during the period when the foundations of the new society were being built. Without a doubt, this requirement also pertains to I. V. Stalin and to his activities and heritage. This article will deal with the very serious damage that he caused to the Communist and democratic movement during the decade and a half after V. I. Lenin's death.

During that period, when Lenin had not yet retreated from all affairs in the party and government for reasons of health, Stalin made practically no attempt, unlike Trotskiy and Bukharin, Zinovyev or Radek, to exert an influence upon the 3rd Communist International (Comintern) that had been created in 1919 or upon its individual sections.

But the dogmatic nature of Stalin's views and his sectarian approach to the problems of the world revolutionary movement began to manifest itself as early as the last months in the life of Lenin, who had indeed fought against such views and approaches. Thus, at the 15 January 1924 Plenum of the party's Central Committee, Stalin, in the laconic style that was typical of him, stated that there had recently been a "shifting over of the petty-bourgeois Social Democratic forces toward the side of counterrevolution, to the camp of fascism. Conclusion: not a coalition with the Social Democrats, but mortal combat against them, as the support of the present fascistized authority."

That same year, in an article entitled "The International Situation," Stalin provided a sectarian, apparently direct departure from Leninism and an evaluation of fascism and Social Democracy: "Fascism is the combat organization of the bourgoisie and it rests upon the active support of Social Democracy. Social Democracy is an objectively moderate wing of fascism... These organizations do not negate but, rather, supplement one another. They are not direct opposites, but twins. Fascism is the unformed political bloc of these two basic organizations, a bloc that has arisen in the situation of the postwar crisis of imperialism and that is calculated for the fight against proletarian revolution."

Up until the 7th Comintern Congress, which was held in 1935, Stalin unswervingly adhered to the view that fascism and Social Democracy (which he began to call

Social Fascism) were equivalent. In so doing, he not only blackened Social Democracy, but also, to the same degree, whitened fascism. For the sake of justice, it must be said that at first such sectarian positions were also occupied by Zinovyev, chairman of the Comintern Executive Committee. But after the elimination of Zinovyev, Stalin will begin to accuse of "rightist deviation" those Communists, both Soviet and foreign, who refused to acknowledge as their chief enemy the leftist Social Democrats who were closest in their views to the Communists.

Stalin prevented the rapprochement of the Communists and the Social Democrats even on the eve of the 7th Comintern Congress, when, for example, in France the unity of the working class was already becoming a reality.

Yes, that is how it was: in many European countries, fascism was growing as though yeast-fed, and in proletarian sections of the cities and at the plants the workers—the only force capable of barring the way to the terrible danger—were waging fierce polemics among themselves about who was the main enemy: the "leftists," the Social Fascists, or the proponents of the "Red dictatorship," the Communists.

Today it is obvious that history would have been different if the working class in the middle of the 1920's had united—first of all in Germany—and barred the way to fascism.

After Hitler's advent to power, Stalin emphasized in a report at the 17th party congress in 1934 that for the Soviet Union it was unimportant as to the form in which the bourgeoisie would carry out dominance in a particular country, including Germany. "The crux of the matter here is not fascism," he stated, "if only because fascism, for example, in Italy has not prevented the USSR from establishing the best relations with that country."

The 1920's and 1930's are typified by an over-simplified approach, by Stalin's incorrect evaluations of the problems of the development of imperialism, and by his exaggeration of those tendencies that lead to the "shaking loose," decline, disintegration, and death of the capitalist system. And, on the other hand, the underevaluation and denial of the factors contributing to the stabilization and reinforcement of the capitalist system. Hence the sectarianism and dogmatism displayed by Stalin and his entourage in questions of the strategy and tactics of the communist parties in the capitalist countries. Hence, also, the completely unrealistic revolutionary optimism and sketchiness in defining the goal, the main enemy, and the possible allies beyond the confines of the working class; the disregard of its partial requirements; the underestimation of the overall democratic process of development, and of the transitional forms in the fight for proletarian power; and the dashing ahead in evaluations of the prospects of the revolution.

Tremendous damage was caused to the world Communist movement by Stalin's activities on the eve of World War II. The concluding of the 23 August 1939 nonaggression pact between the USSR and Hitlerite Germany proved to be partially a forced measure. But it must be acknowledged that that bacchanalia of willfulness and lawlessness that spread through the country in 1936-1939 alienated influential liberal-bourgeois circles in England, France, and other countries from allying with the Communists and maintaining negotiations between their governments and the USSR.

The situation in the country was such that some of the friends of the USSR in the West believed that most of the leaders of the Leninist party and the Soviet state, and the command element of the Red Army, were German or Japanese spies. That situation, without a doubt, was taken advantage of by the rightist forces, which oriented themselves on Nazi Germany and which were encouraging their governments to accept the Munich deal, and the fascist powers to attack the Soviet Union.

Stalin's dogmatism manifested itself after the conclusion of the nonaggression pact with Hitlerite Germany also in the fact that, in the Soviet press and the Comintern press, the word "fascism" completely disappeared, and Anglo-French imperialism was declared to be the chief enemy.

There is no doubt that Stalin is to blame for equating—after the conclusion of the Soviet-German pact—the foreign policy of the CPSU and the activities of the Comintern. Rigid demands on the western parties to reject antifascism discredited those parties in the eyes of their potential allies.

The search for "enemies of the people" within the country in the 1930's developed into similar actions with respect to the leaders of the communist parts—the sections of the Comintern. And even to those who earlier had perished tragically in the fight against counter-revolution.

For example, Stalin attempted, by referring to imaginary mistakes made by the outstanding revolutionary and major theoretician of Marxism Rosa Luxemburg and also by the very term "Luxemburgism," to cover over the actual miscalculations made by the Communists, which also included his own blame. This revealed one of Stalin's methods—to level the accusation of closeness to Trotskyism against any Communist he did not like, regardless of his true position.

Of course, all these negative factors should not be applied exclusively to the activities of Stalin alone. Many other leading figures of the Comintern also carry their share of the blame, although the leftist concepts were also engendered by objective reasons. But it was precisely the development of the cult of Stalin, and his authoritarian interference in the affairs of other parties,

that led to the violation of the democratic principles in the activities of the Comintern. And the consequences to which this led will be discussed below.

One of the most dramatic pages in the history of the world communist movement is the Stalin repressions that were heaped during the 1930's upon the foreign Communists who were seeking political asylum in the USSR, the Social Democrats, and representatives of other antifascist forces. Attempting to convert the Communist International into a tool of his own personal authority, Stalin, relying upon those closest to him and upon the law-enforcement, or, to put it more accurately, punitive agencies, in 1937 dealt a cruel blow to the apparatuses and aktiv of the Comintern and the organizations led by it—the Communist Youth International and Profintern, International Workers' Aid and the International Organization for Aid to Revolutionaries—which had found accommodations in Moscow.

The duty and conscience of Soviet scientists to the international workers' movement is to give openly an objective evaluation of those tragic facts that evoke a feeling of bitterness, pain and shame.

A witness to the events of that period, the famous Soviet journalist on international affairs Ernst Genri, feels that it is necessary to speak in detail about the specific consequences of Stalin's attempt to undermine before the war the international communist movement. The repressions against its prominent figures who proved for various reasons to be in our country in the 1930's began even before the concluding of the nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939. As early as the first half of 1937, members of the leadership of the German Communist Party were arrested (H. Eberlein, G. Remmele, G. Neuman, F. Schulte, and G. Kippenberger), as well as leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party (M. Gorkic, M. Filippovic, and slightly later V. Colic, who had returned from Spain, where he commanded the 15th International Lincoln Brigade). Other persons who were repressed at the same time included the outstanding figure in the international workers movement, Hungarian Bela Kun; a number of leaders of the Polish Communist Party (E. Pruhniak, J. Paszin, J. Lenski, M. Koszutska); and many others. And after concluding the pact with Germany, Stalin simply handed over to Hitler a large number of antifascists who had fled to the USSR after 1933. Members of the Schutzbund disappeared mysteriously during those years—they were members of a militarized organization of Austrian leftist Social Democrats who, in February 1934, had carried out an uprising against the fascists and reactionaries and, after it was defeated, had found asylum in the USSR. Obviously Stalin did not like the fact that a single front of Communists and Social Democrats had sprung up in Austria.

This tragic list is sufficiently long. During the years of the Stalin cult, the repressions were applied to international Leninists from the most diverse countries who, for various reasons, had gone to the USSR. One of them was

Fritz Platten, a Swiss friend of V. I. Lenin, one of the founders of the Comintern and of the Communist Party of Switzerland. He had organized V. I. Lenin's trip from Switzerland to Russia in the spring of 1917, and on 1 January 1918 used his own body to shield the leader when the first assassination attempt against him was carried out. F. Platten headed a group of several dozen Swiss workers and their families (many of them also proved to be repressed subsequently), which had arrived in the USSR as early as 1923 and had organized an agricultural artel in Lenin's homeland, not far from Simbirsk.

A. Kantas, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, was arrested and executed by firing squad. The same fate befell one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Iran, member of the Comintern Executive Committee, and delegate to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th Comintern congresses, A. Sultan-zade. V. I. Lenin had attentively studied his report at the 2nd Congress concerning the prospects of social revolution in the East, and had made a number of comments at such time. G. A. K. Lukhani was repressed. Together with persons sharing his views, he sent Vladimir Ilich Lenin in the summer of 1921 the theses "India and World Revolution," to which Lenin sent a reply letter—concerning a planned meeting.

Stalin's repressions were especially criminal because they took on a mass nature with respect to parties that were in an illegal status in countries with reactionary, principally fascist, regimes. Those parties were the most defenseless and in their own homeland they could not raise a voice of protest against the abominations being carried out by Stalin and those around him.

A fact that is intolerable is the fact that, with respect to the foreign internationalists who were the victims of Stalin's arbitariness, the slogan "No one and nothing is forgotten" has not been applied in full measure to this day. Noble work has been carried out in Yugoslavia—approximately 800 victims of the Communists in that country have been listed individually.

The publication in Warsaw of the first two volumes of the multivolume "Biographical Dictionary of Figures in the Polish Workers' Movement" indicates that the number of Polish revolutionaries who perished comes to many, many hundreds. Stalin's sectarian approach to the Polish Communist Party manifested itself as early as the 5th Comintern Congress in 1924. Stalin, who at that congress guided the work of the Polish commission, unjustifiably accused the entire Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Party of Polish of being the Polish section of the opportunistic opposition in the RKP(b).

The reply sent by W. Kostsheva (M. Koszutska) to Stalin at a commission session is perceived in our time as prophesy: "With regard to our statement with a critical evaluation of certain Executive Committee decisions, Comrade Zinovyev told us, 'We will break your bones if you act against us'... In our international communist organization, the broken bones are knitting together. I am afraid of something else. It is precisely as a result of your privileges that the persons who are dangerous for you are not those persons who, for such a reason as ours, could have their bones broken, but those who do not have any bones at all."

Stalin's awkward, unsubstantiated accusations directed at the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland—accusations of Trotskiyism, anti-Bolshevism, anti-Soviet positions—led as early as 1933 to physical reprisals against Jerzy Czeszeiko-Sohacki and certain other leaders of Polish Communists. The repressions overtook the others in 1937. A decree of the presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee concerning the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland in 1938 was a screen that covered Stalin arbitrary actions of 1937 with respect to Polish Communists.

In the second half of the 1930's, the violations of legality that were linked with the Stalin personality cult hit the Communist Party of Hungary, pulling from its ranks many true revolutionaries and genuine internationalists. The victims of Stalin's arbitrariness included the founders of the party and the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic—the second Soviet republic in history after Soviet Russia. In order to save their lives under the conditions of the fascist terror after the fall of the republic, V. I. Lenin personally performed a tremendous amount of work in 1920. The persons who were repressed in the 1930's included leaders of the Hungarian Commune—people's commissars F. Bayaki, D. Bokanyi, J. Kelen, I. Rabinovic, and S. Szabados. Others who proved to be victims of the lawlessness were L. Gavro, twice-recipient of the Red Banner for exploits in defending the October Revolution; F. Karikas, delegate to the 2nd Comintern Congress; dozens of other Hungarian revolutionaries; and their wives, children, and close associates.

Many Bulgarian Communists who had come to the USSR were also repressed. These include three close associates of V. I. Lenin. One was R. Abramov, who had entered the Bolshevik Party as early as the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, who was one of the first publishers of Bolshevik literature abroad during the pre-October period, a friend of Maksim Gorkiy, and a person who had many meetings with Lenin and carried out his most responsible assignments. At the time when he was arrested and shot by firing squad in 1937, R. Abramov—the first Bulgarian to be awarded the Order of Lenin-headed the Khleboeksport All-Union Association. The second was Kh. Rakovskiy, a member of the RKP(b) Central Committee who during V. I. Lenin's life was chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukraine. Subsequently he was the Soviet plenipotentiary in England and France and the chairman of the Soviet Red Cross. And, finally, the third was B. Stomonyakov, one of the chief suppliers of weapons for the combat brigades during the years of the first Russian revolution. When Stomonyakov was arrested in 1938, he was occupying the position of one of two USSR deputy people's commissars of foreign affairs.

The repressed Communists of Romania included a prominent figure in the workers' movement of that country, A. Dobrojanu-Gerya. A discussion that he and his party comrades had with V. I. Lenin in late 1921 was of great importance for the growth of the Communist Party of Romania.

Other persons who were repressed were founders of the Communist Party of Finland G. Rovno and A. Shotman, who guaranteed Lenin's security during his last underground period of summer-autumn 1917 in Finland. The same fate befell E. Gyulling, one of Lenin's associates, who headed the Karelian Communist Party; K. Manner, the first General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland; and many, many other Finnish internationalists.

In the memoirs of Antonio Roasio, a veteran of the Italian Communist Party, it is stated that more than a hundred Italian Communists who were living in the USSR in the 1930's were arrested and sent to camps, where the living conditions proved to be fatal for them.

Mass repressions were directed at leaders and aktiv members of the communist parties of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Western Ukraine, and Western Belorussia (prior to their entry into the USSR).

The Stalin personality cult was a tragedy not only for the Soviet nation, but also for the world communist movement as a whole. Its victims included many fraternal parties and, to the greatest degree, the CPSU.

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### Yerevan Professor Cites Azerbaijani 'Distorted Interpretation of History'

18300341a Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 28 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by G. Avakyan, professor, doctor of geographic sciences, head of the Economic Geography Department, Yerevan Institute of the National Economy, under rubric "A Scientist's Point of View": "We Need the Truth"]

[Text] There probably does not exist a science whose objects of study do not cause conflicts of opinions and a large number of different views and arguments. Yes, that is what, properly speaking, constitutes the very motivating force of the very complicated process of achieving the truth. Nevertheless, the existence of numerous alternative versions, points of view, and outlooks—even those that are diametrically opposed—can be justified only when they are based on facts that have actually occurred and that are given in their complete volume—

rather than tendentiously selected—whether those facts pertain to history, linguistics, or geography. Unfortunately, this "highest rule" of science sometimes is not employed, and then...

We could all be convinced of the extent to which this is fraught with consequences by considering the example of the arguments that sprang up around Nagornyy Karabakh... Because the sense of national dignity—that indispensable element of patriotism and internationalism, an element that begins with the completely concrete love for one's land-must be nurtured only on the soil of the real-life situation. Unfortunately, for long years our Azerbaijani fellow-scientists, forgetting the responsibility that is imposed on them by that rank, engaged in a distorted interpretation of the historical facts-for example, they claimed that the Armenian architectural monuments on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR, including the "khachkars," are Azerbaijani (D. Akhundov); asserted (Z. Buniyatov, F. Mamedova, S. Mirmakhmudova, and others) that a large part of what is even present-day Armenia used to be belong to Azerbaijan... Who needs the obvious falsification of facts?

All of this could not fail to result in the distortion of the sense of national pride, a pride that was deprived of its true orientation markers, primarily among the young people as the part of the nation that is most subjected to influence and that is the most active.

What we need today is truth and nothing but the truth. Not the views of any individual nation, but the facts that have received an evaluation from the point of view of historical truth and reality—that is the highest judge in all disputes, because it is only truthfully expounded history that will help to educate young people in the spirit of honesty and internationalism. Any other path will lead people to false and extremely dangerous illusions and will confuse them if they are relatively or completely uninformed about the true history of our peoples.

The language of geographers is the language of figures and real facts. Thus, what is the basis for statements made by our Azerbaijani colleagues to the effect that 80 percent of the settlements in Soviet Armenia used to have Azerbaijani names, but during the years 1940-1970 they were renamed and made Armenian, statements which, in particular, became the basis of S. Mirmakhmudova's candidate dissertation that she defended two years ago? Incidentally, the Higher Degree Commission subsequently did not approve it, but the "hypotheses" expressed in the work are still being inflated to this day, providing food for immature minds that is by no means the best and by no means inoffensive.

But the facts are such that attempts to determine the national territory that land belongs to simply on the basis of geographic names, which attempts were made by S. Mirmakhmudova, prove upon verification to be nothing more than the juggling and distortion of obvious realia.

Moreover, even the very selection of the "facts" is obviously tendentious, if not more than that, and attests to the incompetency of the interpreters: names that are claimed to be Azerbaijani include the name of the village of Sararat (sown field), which the author, by arbitrarily distorting its spelling and converting it to Saryart, treats as "yellow plateau"; the purely Armenian toponyms Karashamb, in which the author simply changes the first letter "k" to "g" and Armenian "kar" (stone) is changed into Azerbaijani "black." Even the Armenian proper names by which the settlements are called are given in a distorted form. For example, the village of David-bek (name of an important Armenian military figure and leader of a liberation movement in the late eighteenth century) is spelled in such works as Davud-bey; Kulidzhan as Guluzhan; Chapni as Chebni; Aldara as Alidere; Maliklar as Meliklre; Shamshadin as Shamsedin; Sarukhan as Sarykhan; Arapkir as Arabgirli...

One could cite many such unacceptable examples. However, let us be satisfied with those given above and let us touch upon another type of fundamental question.

How and when did the foreign-language econyms that reflect the geographical terms of various languages arise on the territory of Armenian SSR? It is well known that Turkic-speaking tribes invaded the trans-Caucasus in the middle of the eleventh century and for a long time roamed nomadically over the entire trans-Caucasus.

Basically in the nineteenth century, when those tribes had gradually changed over to a settled way of life, the Turkic econyms began to spread. This was done by the force of the fanaticism of the Islamic faith and by the sword. Properly speaking, the conquerors of all centuries and all nations changed first of all the names of the conquered cities and villages—they attempted, by lexical means also, to reinforce their own dominance. The settlements that were liberated from oppression invariably changed the new names that were alien to them back to the age-old national ones.

And that is what happened in Armenia. The conquerers occupied the Armenian villages and renamed them in their own language. They even forced people to change their own names. Aboriginal Christians, out of fear, gave their children the names of beys, khans, and mullahs. Proper names, including econyms, were usually translated literally from Armenian to the Turkic language. Thus, Astvatsatur (Bogdan) became Allverdi; Darbin (Forge) became Demirchi; Tskhkadzor (Flower Canyon) became Darachicha; Urur (Willow) became Sosyutli; Getashen (River) became Chaykend; Vernashen (High) became Bashkend; Nor Gyukh (New Village) became Tazagyukh; etc. Sometimes the Armenian euconyms were only slightly distorted, or a purely Armenian name had a Turkic suffix added on the end ("ly," "lu"): Kapuyt—Gyabut; Gogaran—Geran; Aragats—Alagyaz; Shagan-Shaganlu; Mugam-Mugamlu; Kuchak-Alikuchak.

All these names are now being presented as Azerbaijani names that indicate the Azerbaijani origin of those populated points. One would only wonder how the Azerbaijani scientists manage to differentiate between Turkish and Azerbaijani names, because they have identical roots and in only rare instances are they written to represent different combinations of sounds.

In the assertion made by the same S. Mirmakhmudova, it turns out that on the small territory of Armenian SSR (29,800 square kilometers) there were 761 populated places of Azerbaijani origin, including 448 during the Soviet period, of which 231 still exist, and 217 are no longer in existence.

And yet it is fairly easy to establish—on the basis of numerous extant sources—that Armenia at the present time has a total of 152 settlements with Azerbaijani population, rather than 261, and all of them, without exception, have Azerbaijani names. Yes, some of them were renamed—not given Armenian names, as scientists from our neighboring republic assert, but, once again, Azerbaijani names—in those instances when the settlements had unacceptable names. Here are a few examples: Karakoyunlu (Black Ram) was renamed Azizbekov; Dzhanakhmed (a robber's name) was given the name Gyunashli (Sunny); Itkran (which has a Russian linguistic meaning that can be understood as a village famous for having murdered dogs) became Gyulistan (Garden of Roses); etc.

That is the truth. And the truth, and nothing but the truth, has the right to life, rather than the fruits of learned tightrope-walking that are offered up in the guise of truth in attempts to distort the obvious facts and events, which attempts can lead, and have already led, to consequences that are truly tragic for both of our peoples. Incidentally, this pertains not only to the work of S. Mirmakhmudova, who is taking in science her first steps, unfortunately, in an unscrupulous manner, but also the people who have been given higher learned degrees and titles, and who, in particular, announce to the entire country over Central Television that the capital of NKAO-Stepanakert-used to have an Azerbaijani name-Khankend (Prince Village). Is this ignorance, or is it deliberate failure to mention the fact that originally, and up until 1847, present-day Stepanakert bore the age-old Armenian name Vararak (Gushing Spring)?

Can there be arguments between neighbors? Definitely. Arguments occur between brothers and sisters, between parents and children. There can also be differences of opinion between peoples... Is it worthwhile to deal with them? Definitely. Because it is only by resolving questions in a just manner than we can reinforce our friendship.

Arguments and differences of opinion are natural. The only thing that is dangerous is bringing them to the extreme. The relationship of neighbors between our two peoples has been given to us from on high. We are eternal

fellow-travelers, and we have just one road... And it will never happen that one of our peoples will turn off that path. We must and we always shall walk together, side by side, along that path...

It is the obligation of every Azerbaijani and every Armenian to be aware of this. This exceptional truth of joint coexistence must be learned by heart, as one learns his own alphabet. Whoever does not understand all of this is acting primarily against his own people.

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#### Armenian Historian Scores Anti-Armenian Bias in Azerbaijani Work

18300341b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Paruyr Muradyan, doctor of historical sciences, specialist in Caucasian studies, under rubric "A Scientist's Notes": "How the 'Travels' Were Published"]

[Text] In the search to find the causes of the events that occurred, as is generally said, "in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it," one published item contained the reproach, "Scientists from both republics took up the dispute. They 'dove down' into the depth of centuries trying to find there to which of the peoples that land had belonged from the very beginning. Unfortunately, the battles waged by the scientists were not distinguished by any correctness or objectivity. They did not introduce any clarity into this question, but, rather, confused it even more. And today, if historians from Azerbaijan and Armenia were to sit down at the discussion table, each side would explain one and the same fact in diametrically opposed terms. Nevertheless these people defended their candidate and doctoral dissertations, they became academicians, and they wave around like swords in both republics the quotations from their contradictory works' (PRAVDA, 21 March 1988, No 81, p 3).

Essentially speaking, this is a stern reproach, but I would not venture to assert that domestic Caucasian studies are free of such sins. And those "diametrically opposed explanations" do arise. But as for what purpose they pursue or how they are implemented, the authors of the reproach cannot even know this. The working laboratory of historians, like, incidentally, any other scientific laboratory, is complicated, has multiple levels, and is not always accessible to the reader. Historical science attempts to redesign the model of the past, but it deals not only with the logic of events and underlying regularities that have been revealed, but also, and primarily, with data provided by the most diverse primary sources, by compiling that data and analyzing it. Scientific criticism of the primary source and exceptional conscientiousness when publishing or interpreting it is the primary and most important duty of the historian-researcher. Any unargumented interference in the primary source, any liberty taken by the publisher or the researcher, borders on forgery, and consequently is criminal. What this means in actual practice is something that I would like to illustrate by using the example of a new edition of the Russian translation of Johann Schiltberger's "Travels Through Europe, Asia, and Africa From 1394 Through 1427" (Elm Publishing House, Baku, 1984, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Eastern Studies, "Sources for the History of Azerbaijan" Series). Bavarian Johann Schiltberger, a participant in the 1396 Crusade, was captured by the "heathens"—the Turks—and, accompanying his captors, traveled for more than 30 years over various countries and continents. He described events, countries, and people that he "had the occasion to see." The importance and reliability of Schiltberger's reports are well known in the special literature of Caucasian studies and those reports have been quoted repeatedly. Proof for what has been stated can also be provided by the exemplary edition of the Russian translation that was published by F. Brun (Odessa, 1866). The new edition (which bears on the title page the notation "Publication, edition, and notes by Academician of AzSSR Academy of Sciences Z. M. Buniyatov") repeats F. Brun's translation, while introducing into the text in individual instances refinements of a stylistic nature. "When preparing to publish F. K. Brun's translation," the preface reads, "I abridged those parts of his 'Travels' where he engages in interminable judgments of a scholastic nature and fulsome eulogizings of the Catholic church, which in turn are provided with the same kind of verbose comments by F. K. Brun, who almost doubled the volume of his publication" (p 5).

Of course we must not fail to believe the words of the academician publisher. In principle, the primary source ought not to suffer greatly from the fact that the "interminable judgments of a scholastic nature" or the "eulogizings directed at the Catholic church" have been abridged, since those are not the sections that constitute the essence of Schiltberger's reports. However, the publisher must agree that not all his 6000 readers (this is the size of the book's printing run) will be picking up this work for the first time; some of those readers may also know this monument from its German original or, at least, from the previous Russian edition and have a right to have doubts about the precise choice of passages that had to be abridged. And, in particular, I myself am included among those people. Failing to find in the new edition the information already known to me about the history of Armenia in the Middle Ages, I undertook a word-for-word comparison of the entire text, and this is what transpired: by "scholastic nature" and "eulogizing," our editor understands everything that, for any reason, he does not like, or that he would not like to read in the work by the German author. Contrary to the elementary norms of textology, he does this without the proper comments, or even the simplest conventional designations, just as though the abridged words or expressions, or entire excerpts, had not existed at all in the original. In order to present a scientist's laboratory, I shall cite several examples below, indicating the abridged words and expressions in boldface.

"The king also sent prisoners as a present to the kings of Babylon, Persia, White Tatary, Great Armenia, and other countries" (Brun, p 8; Buniyatov, p 13).

"There is also the city of Kyutayya, which lies on a high mountain, in a fertile area called Kermian, and the city of Angora in the land with the same name. In this city there are many Christians who adhere to the Armenian denomination. In their church there is kept a cross that gleams day and night and that attracts even the heathens, who call that cross the shining stone" (Brun, p 41; Bun., p 38).

"There is a city of Antioch, where the walls are red from Christian blood" (Brun, p 50; Bun., p 41).

"In the middle of paradise is a spring that is the beginning of four rivers that irrigate various countries... The third river, called the Tigris, irrigates Asia and Great Armenia. The fourth, the Euphrates, flows through Persia and Small Armenia. Of these four rivers, I saw three: the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, and I spent many years in the countries irrigated by them" (Brun, pp 85-87; Bun., p 52).

"When speaking about Constantinople, the Greeks use the expression 'eisten polin,' which is why the Turks call the city Stambul. Across from it lies the city of Pera, which is called Galata by the Greeks and the heathens and which belongs to the Genoese" (Brun, pp 102-103; Bun., p 65).

"If, however, it turns out that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom informs his mother of this... For the bride's parents this is a great disgrace and they must take their daughter back... Then the priests and the other dignitaries intercede and try to persuade the bridegroom's parents to ask their son whether he wants her to remain his wife... Otherwise they are divorced, and he returns his wife's dowry to her. Similarly, she must return the dresses and other articles given to her as presents, after which both parties can enter a new matrimony. This custom also exists in Armenia. The Georgians are called 'Gurdzhi' by the heathens, and the Yasy are called 'As'" (Brun, p 110; Bun., p 67).

Not a single one of the six examples quoted contains either "interminable judgments of a scholastic nature" or "eulogizings directed at the Catholic church." This is reliable historical proof that is indisputably important for science and that finds confirmation in contemporaneous sources in other languages. What, then, encouraged its abridgement? This question can be answered by proceeding from a quantitative analysis: the publisher is not pleased with Schiltberger, who so frequently and so concretely mentions the Armenians and Armenia, as well as the Christian Genoese and the defenders of Antioch. And it turns out that proved to be sufficient for them to be removed from the text. It may seem to the reader that the expression "who adhere to the Armenian denomination" may look scholastic, but our publisher is

well aware that in the language of the medieval author, this is equivalent to an ethnic definition. He obviously distorted the essence of the report, depriving the Armenians and their cult relics of an ethnocultural description. In order not to be suspected of a tendentious interpretation, I shall point out that, in the remaining passages where the author mentions the professing of the "Greek faith" (Bun., pp 40, 45) or "Various Denominations of Heathens," "The Birth of Muhammad and His Religion," etc. (Bun., pp 56-61), the publisher refrains from abridging the text.

Z. M. Bunivatov's consistency is obvious: he has dealt arbitrarily only with "Great Armenia", but has not taken on "Small." He "failed to note" that two completely different administrative-geographical concepts had fused into one, two concepts that are well known from Greek, Latin, Georgian, Russian, and Armenian sources, and thus he overlooked the fact that two different rivers-the Tigris and the Euphrates-thus fused together, and Mesopotamia disappears. In all this there not only is no science, but there is also no moral position. I am afraid that I may be accused of prejudice, and therefore I am forced to quote longer and more detailed examples of editorial interference, but on the same topic. Schiltberger's "Travels" contain a section that is typical of a medieval tale of chivalry (Chapters XXX-XXXII), which tells about a maiden who is located in a fortress and a hawk that is defending her (Brun, pp 42-43); Bun., pp 38-39). Our publisher did not consider it to be necessary to abridge the text until a personage who is unwanted by the academician arrives, no one knows from where. Here is the excerpt that was taken out of the text: "Then there appeared a king's son from Armenia, and he also remained awake there for three days and three nights; after which, he went into the palace where the hawk was, and the hawk began to shriek. The maiden came out toward him and asked what he wanted that was good and honest. He did not demand any riches, saying that, as the son of a powerful Armenian king, he had enough gold, silver, and precious stones, but, since he did not have a spouse, he wanted to marry her. She answered him, 'Your vanity will be punished over you and your might,' and she cursed him and all his kin" (Brun, p 43).

The misfortune is not that, after being rejected by the maiden, "the king's son" was also rejected by the publisher of Schiltberger's book, but in the fact that, because of him, a knight in the Order of Saint Jacob also suffered. If he had shown up at the fortress earlier than "the son of the powerful Armenian king," a place for him, like all the others, would probably have been found in the new edition. I assume that the persons who became the victims of the admirers from Armenia (Brun, p 78) were not only the pilgrims from "Syria and the land of priest John," but also the noteworthy sights in the Lord's temple and other monuments of Jerusalem, which were so skillfully and so thoroughly described by the witness (Brun, pp 78-81). This excerpt also contains not the slightest hint of "scholasticism" or "eulogizing." In any case, it contains much more information that is needed

for medieval studies than is contained in the chapter "Why Muhammad Banned Wine for the Heathens," which is quoted in entirety (Bun., p 62). For justice' sake, it should be noted that the publisher preserved the end of the chapter, which cites the prophet's injunction, "The (that is, the Muslims) must constantly persecute the Christians and all opponents of his teaching, with the exception of the Armenians, to whom, on the basis of the previously mentioned promise of Muhhamad, complete freedom was granted, with the one proviso that they pay two pfennigs a month in the form of quit-rent" (Bun., p 62). However, this condescension is compensated for by the abridgement of many other excerpts. Chapters that have completely disappeared from the text are "The Armenian Denomination" (Brun, pp 111-114), and "Saint Gregory" (Brun, pp 114-121), which record a large number of interesting legends and ethnographic realia, data concerning the history of the Armenian language, etc. By virtue of what was said, such testimony or descriptions as the following were removed from Schiltberger's text: "For all their bravery, the Armenians subsequently lost all their kingdoms. Not too long ago, the sultan-king took away from them the kingdom with the good city of Sis, and the residence of their patriarch, who, incidentally, is obliged to pay a large tribute to the sultan. The court of the Cypriote king also has a large number of Armenian gentlemen, as a result of the proximity of the island" (Brun, p 114). Also: "The Armenians living among the heathens, as well as those who live among other Christians, are extremely honest people. They also are extremely skillful and are as capable as the heathens in embroidering various silk and velvet fabrics, and fabrics of gold and purple" (Brun, p 122).

I must confess that I have made repeated attempts to clarify for myself what purposes and methods within the confines of science could have forced the publisher to take this action. Because we are dealing not with the interpretation of the source, but its publication. History is studied on the basis of primary sources, on the basis of documents, but if it is allowable to remove from them anything that the publisher does not like, then we discredit historical science itself, replacing it with fabrication. My doubts and my search ceased after verifying and analyzing the special chapter "Armenia" in Schiltberger's work (Brun, pp 110-111; Bun., p 67). It is a small one, and therefore I consider it possible to quote it in entirety, once again setting off in boldface the part that has been abridged in the new edition: "I also spent a lot of time in Armenia. After the death of Tamerlane, I went to his son, who owned two kingdoms in Armenia. That son, who was called Shah-Roh, made it a habit to spend the winter on a large plain that is called Karabar and that is distinguished by good pastures. It is irrigated by the Kur River, which is called the Tigris, and the best silk is collected along the banks of this river. Although this plain lies in Armenia, nonetheless it belongs to heathens, to whom the Armenian settlements are forced to pay tribute. The Armenians always dealt with me well because I was a German, and in general they are well disposed toward Germans, or 'Nimitz,' as they call us. They taught me their language and told me their 'Pater Noster.'"

Z. M. Bunivatov, actually, revised not only the historical geography of Karabakh ("this valley lies in Armenia"), but also its ethnic makeup, by eliminating from the text the "Armenian settlements." Moreover, he can deprive an entire people of its homeland and settle only one Muslim owner there. Schiltberger several times mentions "the country of Dzhanik" (Chapters VII-VIII), that is, the country of the Chans—a people of Kartvel origin. But the editor of his book replaced that choronym by the name Dzhunayd-beka (Bun., pp 17-18). Now the reader, instead of "the country of Dzhanik," "the forests of Dzhanik," and the "lands of Dzhanik," must now deal with "Dzhunayd-bek," "the domains of Dzhunayd," and the "land of Dzhunayd." What this means can be understood even by a reader who is completely inexperienced about historical science. I would call this act "Sumgait in history," or, more accurately, perhaps, the literary-historical preparation of the Sumgait tragedy. What will become of our historical science if the publisher of Schiltberger's book finds any followers?

This is by no means an idle question. In 1971 Z. M. Bunivatov published in Moscow a Russian translation of a work by al-Bakuvi, a contemporary of Johann Schiltberger. Peculiarities of his textological work also manifested themselves in this publication. After reading the report in the primary source concerning the fact that there were a lot of settlements near the city of Bakuya (that is, Baku), and that "All the inhabitants of those settlements are Christians" (pp 89-90), he immediately doubted the reliability of that information and provided the original text with a question mark, and then, in another passage in the same source where it is said of the Russians that "This is a large nation of Turks" and "They are Allah's dirtiest creations" (p 104), no doubts arose in our academician's mind, and therefore he did not provide that text with either a question mark or an exclamation mark. Several years ago. in the Georgian academy journal MATSNE (Language and Literature Series, 1975, No 4, pp 168-174), it was stated that in the article "Georgia and Shirvan in the First Half of the Twelfth Century" Z. M. Buniyatov had appropriated the text of Feleki Shirvani's ode "On the Death of Tsar Dmitriy I," which text had been prepared by Professor Khadi Khasan. He had behaved the same way when publishing the Russian translation of Mkh. Gosh's 'Albanian Chronicle" (Baku, 1960), depriving Ch. Dovsett of the authorship of many notes (p 33).

Strange as it seems, none of this was noticed by the scientific public. What will happen now to Schiltberger's book? Will Academician Z. M. Buniyatov be declared a co-author?

#### Armenian Professor on Nagorno-Karabakh History, Geography

18300360 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 4

[Article by Sergey Melkumyan, doctor of geographic sciences, professor, Yerevan Institute of the National Economy: "Nagornyy Karabakh; Historical-Geographic Outline"]

[Text] In connection with the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it, the editors have received letters from various parts of the country with requests to describe Nagornyy Karabakh, its history, geography, economy and cultural life of the area.

#### We are responding to the request of our readers.

The territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast accounts for a small part of the territory of Artsakh, one of the vast areas of historical Armenia.

From the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD, Artsakh was a structural part of the kingdoms of the Artashesid and Arshakid Greater Armenia. In the 5th to the 7th centuries Artsakh was part of the Albanian Marzpanship, which was formed by the Iranian Sasanids; in the 7th to the 9th centuries, during the period of the Arab Khaliphate, it was part of the Armenian General Government.

Starting with the 10th century, when Armenia became independent (under the Armenian Bagratids) several Armenian principalities (meliks) were set up in the Artsakh, with a virtually autonomous status. Whenever necessary, the Armenian principalities united and through joint efforts opposed the invasions of Seljuk, Tatar-Mongol, Arab and Turkish invaders. It is thus that the principalities of Artsakh, united, provided a powerful and impenetrable shield to foreign enemies in defending not only their own area but also central Armenia.

In the 16th-17th centuries five of the Artsakh-Karabakh principalities—Khachen, Dizak, Varand, Dzhraberd and Gulistan—were the well-known Khams Principalities.

The area of today's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (4,400 sq km) approximately coincides with the territory of these five principalities.

Since ancient times, Artsakh-Karabakh has been essentially settled by Armenians. After the victory of the Soviet system in Armenia, the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee issued a declaration, dated 1 December 1920, in which it stated that "... The old borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan are proclaimed annulled. Nagornyy Karabakh, Zangezur and Nakhichevan are acknowledged a structural part of the Armenian Socialist Republic." This declaration was signed by N. Narimanov, Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee chairman.

The next day this act was welcomed by J. Stalin in PRAVDA. V.I. Lenin, S. Kirov, G. Ordzhonikidze, G. Chicherin and other outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party, warmly approved of the decision of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee.

On 12 June 1921, in accordance with the resolution of the Caucasian Buro of the RKP(b), the Armenian Sovnarkom promulgated the Decree on the Reunification of Nagornyy Karabakh with Soviet Armenia.

However, the happiness of the people did not last long: Despite the previous decree he had signed, N. Narimanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Sovnarkom, demanded that Nagornyy Karabakh remain part of Azerbaijan, motivating this with the statement that in the opposite case the Azerbaijan Sovnarkom would consider itself relieved of any responsibility for possible actions by anti-Soviet forces in the republic.

On 4 July 1921, again by majority vote, the Caucasian Buro of the RKP(b) Central Committee decided to include Nagornyy Karabakh within Soviet Armenia. The next day, however, under Stalin's pressure and despite the view of the majority, an arbitrary decision was passed without discussion or vote: "Based on the need for a national peace between Muslims and Armenians.... Nagornyy Karabakh will remain within the Azerbaijan SSR." The latest events in Nagornyy Karabakh have proved that this act did not contribute to the solution of problems between nationalities in this area.

Today the territory of the NKAO is divided into five rayons. The largest is Mardakertskiy Rayon (1,700 sq km), followed by Askeranskiy (900 sq km), Martuninskiy (800 sq km), Gadrudskiy (700 sq km) and Shushinskiy (300 sq km). On 1 January 1988 Nagornyy Karabakh had 215 settlements, almost 90 percent of which entirely inhabited by Armenians.

The oblast has four cities and four urban-type settlements. The administrative center, Stepanakert, with a population in excess of 50,000, is a large city. Another large city is Shusha, the ancient city of the Artsakh-Karabakh area. In 1752 Shusha became a fortified settlement; it became a city in 1840. Located on a beautiful high-mountain plateau, until the turn of the 20th century Shusha was one of the major cultural and trade centers of the Transcaucasus.

This city began to develop rapidly especially after 1805, when Karabakh became united with Russia. Since that time cultural and trade-economic relations with Russia and the European countries have developed intensively. Starting with the 1820's, a printing press and Armenian schools were opened in Shusha, books, journals and newspapers were published in the Armenian language, and theaters and clubs were organized. Let us note that some books by Raffi, P. Proshyan, G. Agayan, Leo and other noted Armenian writers were first published in Shusha.

In general, in pre-Soviet times, Shusha played an exceptional role in the development of Armenian culture. The development of culture, the arts and trade were of decisive significance in the extensive recognition of the importance of this city. The city maintained close ties with many large cities of that time. It is no accident that it nurtured talented personalities in all areas of science, culture and the arts. Outstanding party, state and economic personalities, historians and writers were born in Shusha. In particular, they include major party leaders and V.I. Lenin's fellow workers Aleksandr Bekzadyan, Bogdan Knunyants, Sarkis Kasyan, Vladislav Kasparov, Levon Mirzoyan, Saak Ter-Gabriyelyan, Ashot Ovanisyan, Ayk Gyulikekhvyan, Muratsan, Leo, Ivan Tevosvan. USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, and Nelson Stepanyan, twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

Until the 1920 tragedy, Shusha was a very interesting city from the architectural viewpoint. The Armenian districts in the city spread over its elevated part, and were known as Kazanchetsots, Aguletsots, Megretsots and others. They included important architectural residential and public buildings. They had their own centers, schools, clubs, libraries, stores, hotels and churches.

The Amenaprkich (Kazanchetsots), Kanach-zham, and St Astvatsatsin (Aguletsots) churches and many other stone buildings were of great interest. In 1916 Shusha had a population of 43,500, more than one-half of whom were Armenians. In 1920 the Musavatists barbarically burned down the Armenian districts of this splendid city, as a result of which not only were all buildings totally destroyed but also tens of thousands of innocent Armenians perished.

Today the population of Shusha is less than half that size. The remaining two cities in the oblast are Mardakert and Martuni. Urban-type settlements are Gadrud, Askeran, Leninavan and Krasnyy Bazar.

Nagornyy Karabakh has 1,611 Armenian historical-architectural monuments of great interest. Of these 520 are in Mardakertskiy, 410 in Gadrudskiy, 327 in Martuninskiy, 251 in Askeranskiy and 603 in Shushinskiy Rayons.

The most ancient and interesting is the Amaras Monastery (in Martuninskiy Rayon), which was built by Grigoriy the Enlightener (Grikor Lusavorich) at the beginning of the 4th century. His grandson, Bishop Grigoris, was buried here in 337. Let us note that Mesrop Mashtots opened in Amaras one of the first schools for the dissemination of Armenian literacy. Thus, Amaras was not only an ancient Armenian church but also a cultural center.

The Gandzasar Monastery in the village of Vank, Mardakertskiy Rayon, is of great interest. Gandzasar is an outstanding work of art, part of the golden stock of Armenian architecture. It is true that this monastery is an encyclopedia of 13th-century Armenian architecture. The church complex was built in the 1216-1238 period

by Asan Dzhalalyan, the Khachen prince, and remained a major church and cultural center in the eastern part of historical Armenia until the 19th century. It was precisely here that 300 years ago the Armenian meliks decided to turn to the Russian tsar to ask for the unification of Armenia with Russia.

Other very interesting architectural monuments are Dadivank, Gtavank and many other churches. However, these historical treasures are either in ruins or semidestroyed and not one of them has been restored during the entire period of Soviet rule.

Largest among the rural settlements in Nagornyy Karabakh is Chartar Village, with a population of 4,000. During the Great Patriotic War 1,200 soldiers went to the front from Chartar and some 600 of them perished. The village has raised five heroes of socialist labor; it has four schools.

According to 1921 data, 95 percent of the population of the present territory in this area was Armenian; on 1 January 1988 the population of Nagornyy Karabakh numbered 180,000, 75 percent of whom are Armenian and the balance consisting of Azerbaijanis, Russians, Ukrainians and others.

The industrious population of Artsakh-Karabakh has cultivated since ancient times extensive orchards, vine-yards and silkworms and has grown all types of grain crops. In addition to grain, viticulture and fruit growing, all animal husbandry sectors are developed here. Arable land in the oblast totals 81,000 hectares; there are 16,000 hectares in truck gardens, 120,000 in pastureland, and 147,000 hectares in timber. Viticulture has been practiced here since ancient times; a few years ago areas in grapes accounted for 18,000 hectares; in the past 3 to 4 years they have been reduced and today total 11,000 hectares. Silkworms have been raised here since ancient times. At present the area covered by silkworm plantations totals 2,000 hectares.

Nagornyy Karabakh has an annual production in excess of 100,000 tons of grapes. It has about 300,000 head of small cattle and 75,000 hogs. Therefore, agriculture has become a raw material base. However, no large enterprises for the processing of farm goods have been set up locally.

The oblast's industry is represented by 15 enterprises, a large one among which is the Stepanakert silk weaving combine (a silk weaving industry was created here as early as the 19th century). Other relatively large enterprises are the shoe manufacturing factory and the electrical engineering plant (both in Stepanakert). Although large raw material resources exist for the production of construction materials, because of their shortage the oblast has never fulfilled the plans for construction work.

Over the past 30 years the natural population increase in Nagornyy Karabakh has declined by one-half. This is explained by the fact that because of adverse socioeconomic conditions the young people leave their native areas. Under the administration of Kevorkov, the former first party obkom secretary (who was recently expelled from the party for political errors made in the management of the oblast) the number of students has declined substantially. In particular, during the 1970/1971 school year the oblast had 216 daytime general education schools, attended by 40,341 students; in the 1987/88 school year the number of schools dropped to 195 and that of students to 32,000. Therefore, within that time 21 schools in the oblast were closed down and the number of students dropped by 8.341. Most of the clubs and cultural institutions lack amenities and are housed in obsolete buildings. There is one higher educational institution—the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, with its Armenian, Russian and Azerbaijani departments, attended by no more than 2,100 students.

Until the end of April 1988 the oblast's population had no opportunity to view television programs presented in Armenian.

Unfortunately, the history of the Armenian people is not taught in the Armenian schools in the oblast, and even in the Armenian department of the department of history of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, which has trained a large number of major scientists—historians, literary workers and writers.

One of the first steps in solving these and other problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is the familiar resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the socioeconomic development of this area.

The Artsakh-Karabakh area of our homeland has raised four famous Armenian marshals, numerous generals and military commanders in all branches of the Armed Forces, 21 Heroes of the Soviet Union, and a large number of academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of Union republics and personalities in many areas of technology, literature and the arts.

Forty-five thousand Karabakh people took part in the battles of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, 22,500 of whom died for the freedom and independence of our homeland.

The current events in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it have drawn the attention of the broadest possible public. No one has remained indifferent to the problems of this autonomous oblast, which are awaiting their solution.

Journalist Blasts Stormy June Rally Held in Lvov 18000577a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent Zh. Rudenko: "What Are We Fighting For?: Reflections on the Lvov Rallies"]

[Text] If I had been told previously that it was possible, in the best traditions of MKhAT, to play on the stage a newspaper editorial or slogans from portable banners, I would never have believed it. But that is something that I actually saw. And, recently, repeatedly.

In the middle of June a restless child of democracy—the rally—was born in our city of Lvov. Not the kind of rally in which staff speakers read speeches from papers, but free, spontaneous actions in the streets, on the waves of which one can talk from your heart in any way you like.

"We want perestroyka!" the person at the microphone proclaims.

"We want perestroyka!" the crowd repeats.

"Down with the bureaucrat!"

"Down with the bureaucrat!" comes the response, like an avalanche.

In general, it is a boom, a local revolution. True, people's sides have not been crushed yet, but the last time, in front of the monument to Ivan Franko, it became a bit crowded. For the time being, the store windows and street lights are still intact, but a few people have already been hit in the back maliciously. And where the crowd is a bit thicker, drunken types have appeared, crying about the years spent chopping down trees.

But it would seem that everything began inoffensively. An initiative group that wants to create in the city the T. G. Shevchenko native-language society arrived at the place and time that had been agreed on. It arrived there and saw on the door a lock, as well as a barely intelligible announcement about the reasons why the place was not in operation. The group became enraged, and appealing to the passers-by and gathering as they traveled the persons who shared their views, they moved toward the university. There, at the base of the monument to Kamenyar the Great, the initiators declared themselves to be a committee for holding an urgent street rally.

They had informed the local authorities of the forthcoming event, but they had registered it as a meeting between the people of Lvov and the delegates to the forthcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference. Taking into consideration the unstable rainy weather, the two sides had agreed that the meeting would be held in the Construction Workers' House of Culture. However, at the appointed hour the only people sitting in the auditorium were the delegates and representatives of the authorities.

At that time, in front of the monument to Kamenyar, a certain lady took up a position on higher ground and, raising her hands in a denunciatory manner, proclaimed, "Shanovna gromado!." You can see for yourselves that no one is here—not the delegates, not the soviet agencies, not the party agencies. No one has come to the meeting with the people! They are afraid of us! They're sitting this out in their offices like cowards!"

Then, bowing theatrically to the public, she suggested, "Let's select our messengers and force the bureaucrats to come here. I, Irina Kalinets, will lead the delegation myself! Maybe they won't refuse a woman!"

The perplexed delegates, of course, arrived. An academician, workers, an economic manager, and the first secretary of the party's gorkom spoke about everything that was troubling the people of Lvov. Each one proposed a program that he could take to the party conference, each boldly evaluated the changes that have been occurring all around, each proposed specific actions to overcome the everyday difficulties, and each gave detailed answers to the questions. But it was obvious that this is not what the rally organizers had been waiting for or what they wanted. The purpose was revealed very quickly when a loud voice stated, "Now the real warriors for perestroyka will make their statements! The people who fought for it as long ago as the 1960's will speak. Those who spent time in Soviet camps and who continue to defend the interests of the Ukrainian nation!"

The voice became even higher and more dramatic.

"Vyacheslav Chernovol, the Goryn brothers, and other guests will talk."

The oldtimers remembered the "heroes" who were mentioned. Twenty years ago, trials had revealed many things in their biography: the spreading of anti-Soviet literature, contacts with nationalists who had arrived in the guise of foreign tourists, and the transmittal to publications "on the other side of the hummock" of their own "works" that were hostile to the Homeland. These were not innocent martyrs who had vanished without a trace in the camps that were mentioned. The radio "voices" had given full publicity to all of them, special centers had supplied them with packages, and their opuses had been printed. In a word, the "heroes," although they actually did, from time to time, repent their anti-Soviet behavior, continued at their places of confinement to carry out meticulously the instructions that were known to them. They served their time, they engaged in "undusty" seasonal jobs, and they waited for the fresh wind of democracy and glasnost. And now they had begun to act in accordance with the old program.

At the end of last year, Soviet customs confiscated contraband from a certain female foreign visitor. Motion-picture film was processed, and was later transmitted to the mass information media. That film had recorded an interview with V. Chernovol and M. Goryn.

Speaking about their samizdat magazine UKRAYINS-KIY VISNIK, both informed the foreign countries: they were beginning "the broadest gamut of actions for the national rebirth of the Ukraine." Later, British subject Cameron Taylor was detained in Kiev with a stack of hostile literature. As the fake tourist stated, some of the "packages," together with the accompanying documentation, were supposed to be given in Lvov to Chernovol. And a month and a half ago, Radio Liberty stated, for all to hear, that during an official visit by the head of the American government to Moscow "the well-known Ukrainian civil-rights defender Vyacheslav Chernovol, at a meeting in the American Embassy, sat alongside of President Reagan." Yes, together with their wives, and among other persons who are dissatisfied with the Soviet authority, both Chernovol and the older Goryn were indeed there. True, I. Kalinets had not gone there. Possibly because at that time that lady, who does not have any relatives abroad, was filling out the documents for a "present from there"—a car.

Should one, then, be surprised that the rally situations began to develop as though according to a double scenario? Officially, the people of Lvov were being called to discuss the work of the local soviets, questions of improving their personal amenities, improving the ecology in the city, preserving the monuments to antiquity, and democratizing everyday life. But actually a strongly consolidated group of people, like a crowd of soccer fans, keeps "removing" from the rostrum everyone who strays from the nationalistic topic.

The word "comrade" has disappeared from the speakers' mouths, and now every statement begins with the ancient words "shanovne viche," "shanovna gromado," or, at best, "shanovni lvivyany." People are already becoming afraid to speak the language that they have become accustomed to speaking from childhood. So now the Russian, the Pole, the Jew, the Armenian, the Bashkir, stumbling on the phrases, attempts not to offend the carriers of "the Ukrainian spirit." Catcalls are directed at a professor, at a woman who has asked everyone not to damage the lawns nearby, and at a wounded war veteran on crutches who has taken the rostrum. The principle of "who can outshout whom" has begun to be confirmed in the discussions.

But there are things that ought to be heard calmly, because the rally is that form of discussion that, sooner or later, "undresses" people completely—their soul, their thoughts, their intentions. The "opposition" wanted first of all to discredit the delegates to the party conference, but that proved to be unsuccessful! Then they attempted to create public hysterics about the difficulties with housing, water, and transportation, and even obligingly prepared a draft for the creation of their own "democratic front for the fight for perestroyka." However, the gathering, essentially speaking, developed into a reception organized by the city administrators to hear the citizens discuss their personal matters. But the third time the "warriors" nerves surrendered. The

"messenger from Kiev" was unable to help when he shouted that the heart and hopes of the Ukraine today are in Lvov, rather than on the banks of the Dnepr. Nor was the telegram "Dear friends, the Armenians are with you!" able to help.

"It's a fake! Show me the signatures! I know all my Lvov and Yerevan countrymen. And if I don't know them, I still want to check them. Show me the signatures!" an Armenian who had rushed up to the microphone demanded.

Naturally, the telegram disappeared quickly into the pocket of the young "conductor" of the emotions at the rally, Ivan Makar. An engineer at one of the Lvov scientific-research institutes, he hid for a long time behind the slogans of democracy and glasnost and behind the theses of the party decisions and the sharp criticism of the items being currently printed in the press. But the time has come, and Makar said, "We need our own symbols, our own banners, and our own heroes. Those whom NKVD agents called Bandera-ites were victims of Stalinism. There must be monuments to them not only in Lvov, but also throughout the Ukraine. If you are not slaves, fight! If we are not allowed to create the democratic front for the fight for perestroyka, I announce a strike in the city!"

What can you say? Is it really what Vladimir Shakhraychuk, demobilized veteran of the Afghan war, and fitter at the Vesna Production Association, said in complete quiet, "I held a weapon in my hands so that the hungry would have a piece of bread, so that illiterate people could go to school, and there were friends on the Soviet border. I never have been and never will be a slave. But you, Makar, were a slave and will remain one forever!"

He said as though he was spitting in his face. But Makar did not answer, he did not wipe himself off.

And now, as the expression goes, some general comments. The T. G. Shevchenko native-language society has already been created in Lvov, as well as the Friends of Ukrainian Art and Literature, which society unites in its ranks the oblast's Russian-speaking citizens. The Lva Society is in operation, where young people engage in the real job of restoring the city's relics. There has been a constant intensification of the discussion of where to build the future monument to Kobzar. The freedom to hold rallies and meetings and to speak and behave freely is being confirmed on a broader and broader scale in our life. These are elements of democracy and glasnost, and the changeover of many Soviet citizens from the positions of observer to the positions of an active participant in events.

But, while enjoying the rights that have been firmly established in the constitutions of the country and the republic, a few people forget that freedom ends when it hurts the interests of society and the state, when they insult the personal dignity of the citizens, and when they

infringe on the rights of other participants of the meetings. The Lvov procuracy and agencies of the militia seem not to have noticed any instances of inciting people to violate law and order or even of frank hooliganism. The Lvov Oblast ispolkom has approved the temporary rights to hold meetings and other mass measures organized in the cities and other populated places. But no one looks behind the regulating of these meetings, and most frequently they are directed not by the persons who organized the rallies, but by self-proclaimed leaders, while the official coordinators from the soviet agencies are passive.

And there is something else. Those who come to the rally are, for the most part, ordinary Soviet citizens, who frequently are attracted by curiosity or by the appeal of that which is new, people who link the events and actions with their everyday life, practice, and everyday values. Our ideologists, administrators, and party and Soviet workers should learn how to talk with them in clear, concrete, frank language and should learn how to answer all their questions.

People have taken the rostrum. And that is good. The normal process of ideological perestroyka is under way. But, as has been shown by the Lvov rallies, not everyone is ready to give an uncompromising rebuff to the attempts to use glasnost to the detriment of our sociopolitical system or our nation.

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#### USSR Procuracy Notes Increase in Youth Crime Statistics

18000487 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 6

[Article by G. Ovcharenko: "In the USSR Procuracy: It Starts in the Family"]

[Text] Yesterday, a distressing statistic was considered at the expanded conference of the board of the USSR Procuracy: adolescent crime has increased by 2.8 percent over the 5-year period. Drunkenness and the use of narcotics and toxic substances are spreading among children. Legal offenses are growing among teenagers in the younger age group (14-15 years old).

Annually, over 900,000 children are delivered to the internal affairs agencies for various crimes and neglect, and 50 thousand children leave their families and end up in foster care centers. "Family" moonshine-making, occurring on an unprecedented scale in some regions, has particularly ruinous effects on teenagers. Seventy percent of the Krasnodar children surveyed indicated that home-distilling pushes them out into the streets and that no place remains for them in the family. Ninety percent of the pupils in the country's boarding school institutions suffer from mental disorders, due to their prolonged exposure to unfavorable family situations.

Studies in kindergartens have indicated that half of the boys and a third of the girls of preschool age have already tried alcoholic beverages. As a result of the malicious neglect of parental obligations, about 100,000 children are left without parental care annually.

As L. Polozov, chief, Department for Supervision of Fulfillment of Laws on Adolescents, USSR Procuracy, noted at the conference, if we wish to have a mentally and physically healthy young generation, we must do everything possible to reduce the number of troubled families. Labor collectives, national educational, health care and law enforcement agencies are called upon to play a decisive role in this area.

Incidentally, the notion exists in many labor collectives that marital and family relations are deeply personal, unrelated to production interests, and therefore, they say, inviolable. In the majority of the enterprises checked by procuracy agencies, data on troubled families and difficult teenagers is lacking. One third of the notices sent to the parents' work place concerning their children's legal offenses remain unanswered. About 1,600 Comrades' Courts are functioning in Kherson Oblast enterprises, but materials on parental responsibility for the upbringing of children are rarely examined. Women's councils, councils for the prevention of legal offenses, teachers' councils and committees for the struggle against drunkenness are working just as passively in this area, and not only in Kherson Oblast. Thus, at the Automotive Plant imeni Leninist Komsomol, 35 chronic alcoholics with children are working and over 4,000 people have been picked up by the militia in connection with drunkenness. However, not one of the plant's social organizations has taken an interest in the situation of children in the families of these workers.

Many facts were presented at the USSR Procuracy conference which testify to the fact that the national educational and health care agencies, which have extensive information available on the population's alcoholism, narcotics use and mental health, as well as on cases of cruelty to children, are virtually uninvolved in exposing family trouble.

The USSR Procuracy conference, in the work of which teachers, medical workers, journalists and the representatives of social organizations participated, outlined a number of specific steps for improving the implementation of legislation to strengthen the family and increase parental responsibility for the upbringing and support of children. The USSR General Procurator, A. Sukharev, directed these presentations to S. Shaleyev, AUCCTU chairman, B. Kravtsov, USSR Minister of Justice; Ye. Chazov, USSR Minister of Health; and G. Yagodin, chairman, USSR State Committee on National Education.

**Relocation Strictures on Crimean Tatar Families** from Uzbekistan Discussed

18300309 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 2

[A. Gorobets, correspondent of PRAVDA UKRAINY, Crimean Oblast: "Kumech from Steppe Tanino"]

[Text] As PRAVDA UKRAINY already reported, during this year, on the basis of an organized recruitment 300 families of citizens from among the Crimean Tatars will resettle from Uzbekistan to eight steppe districts of the Crimea. The construction of housing for the settlers is under way in the oblast. They count on accepting almost one-third of the new settlers in Pervomayskiy Rayon.

The steppe village of Tanino. Quite recently, it was a completely inconspicuous brigade division of the large Alekseyevskiy Sovkhoz. Large because its lands came to more than 22,000 hectares. It is extremely difficult to manage such a farm. The Soviet of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association decided to divide the sovkhoz into two farms. The village of Tanino was faced with becoming the central farmstead of the newly-created sovkhoz.

"The question of a director arose," V. P. Martynets, the first secretary of the raykom, relates. "I went to a session of the Alekseyevskiy Sovkhoz party committee and asked the communists: 'Whom do you propose?' They nominated two people—the chief engineer L. A. Saulit and the chief agronomist A. M. Tippe. They invited the candidates. Leonid Aleksandrovich at once refused the nomination. On 18 February elections for director were held in Tanino, in the newly-created Agrarnyy Sovkhoz. The party committee proposed Akhtem Muzaffarovich as candidate to the meeting. There were no other proposals. 116 people voted for Tippe, 4 against."

A short, dark-haired man, with grey hair at his temples, meets me on the porch of a little house, which is the temporary location of the sovkhoz office. This is Akhtem Muzaffarovich. He is just about to turn 47. His father, mother, and his entire family are Crimean Tatars.

How did his life evolve? He graduated from medical school. Then the department of biology of the Samarkand Agricultural Institute. In November 1972, on the basis of an organized recruitment, he migrated together with his family to the Crimea. He worked as an accounting clerk of a tractor brigade. He enrolled, as a correspondence student, in the department of agronomy of the Crimean Agricultural Institute. He finished the VUZ—he was appointed agronomist of the sovkhoz, and now he was elected director. By the way, Akhtem Muzaffarovich's eldest son today is also studying in the same institute.

A. M. Tippe is not a party member, a deputy of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. The first secretary of the party raykom said to him simply, but with sufficient authority: "A progressive man."

When the Agrarnyy [Sovkhoz] was formed, the question of manpower arose. In order for the lands of the new sovkhoz to be well-groomed, the forces of the people of the small village are clearly insufficient. Consequently, a part of the toilers and specialists had to be transferred from the central farmstead of the Alekseyevskiy [Sovkhoz].

Here we digress. On 8 May PRAVDA UKRAINY published an interview with the chairman of the Crimean Oblispolkom A. M. Roshchupkin. Aleksandr Mefodiyevich talked about the fact that there are no manpower problems in the oblast. But the process of the redistribution of manpower within the oblast is continuing. In spite of this, the chairman of the oblispolkom observed, the party and soviet organs of the Crimea searched for possibilities of accepting citizens from among the Crimean Tatars for settlement."

In particular, it was determined that 100 families will be accepted by the Agrarnyy Sovkhoz.

The director has weary eyes. "Someone," says Akhtem Muzaffarovich, "would like for the knot of all problems to be solved in one day. This is not how it looks in actuality. You see, a multitude of problems has accumulated. My position is the following: A state commission is working on the analysis of the complaints of the Crimean Tatars. I am convinced that it will take into account the interests of all. Today our first priority is the concern about how to accept and accommodate the 100 families of settlers who are coming on the basis of organized recruitment.

A great deal of construction has unfolded behind the village. It was decided to erect all 100 houses through the efforts of the rayon. Every kolkhoz and sovkhoz is installing three such projects. The industrial enterprises, too, have their sectors under construction.

It is interesting that all houses are of the farmstead type with agricultural buildings that are not similar to one another. You see, they are being installed by various brigades of masters; what is more, the architects saw to it that the builders were offered different plans.

Thirty houses out of the total are the responsibility of the Agrarnyy Sovkhoz. One would think, how is a still young farm to cope with such a volume of work at all? The brigades of masters were created from among the heads and members of the families which will come for settlement. A competition has been organized among them. People are literally working from dawn to dusk. The blessing of the heat—emotional and, so to speak, climatic, is plentiful here. There are also practically no

problems with the supply of materials: This is taken care of by the staff of the construction headed by the chief of the Oblagropromkomplekt, A. A. Cheblakov.

Important, you agree, is the question of who will come to Tanino. People who have a passionate desire to work on the land of their ancestors and to create flourishing oases in the steppe, or those who would not mind kindling unhealthy passions.

"We had certain difficulties with the candidates for resettlement in our sovkhoz," A. M. Tippe says pensively. "Imagine the picture. A person comes from Tashkent. He says: 'Accept me, a fellow-countryman, into the sovkhoz.' I ask him: 'What are you in terms of specialization?' 'I am a designer of flying vehicles,' he answers. What am I to say to him? 'No,' I say, 'such people are needed elsewhere.' Or a metal-maker arrives. You see, we do not have a cupola or a proper furnace. We only accept specialists in agriculture, machine operators, sheep breeders, livestock breeders of other profiles. Incidentally, for the present the staff of the kolkhoz is completely filled. To the last man. Counting, of course, the 100 families of settlers. I myself travelled to Uzbekistan. With the assistance of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems of Uzbekistan and on the recommendation of labor collectives, families of leading and socially active toilers were selected for resettlement. Among those who are coming there are many communists and front-rank workers.

The staff of farm managers and specialists has been completed. Who are they, these people? L. A. Saulit is working as chief engineer. Yes, yes, the same whom they intended for director. He decided to transfer from the

Alekseyevskiy to the Agrarnyy [Sovkhoz]. He wants to work with A. M. Tippe. Leonid Aleksandrovich is a Russian. The chief agronomist N. A. Volovikov and the chief veterinary surgeon, V. M. Dulichev, are Russians; the chief book-keeper N. V. Abduraimov, the husband of Natalya Vladimirovna, is a Crimean Tatar. The chief hydraulic engineer, A. P. Berlya, is a Ukrainian. But the engineer-mechanic R. Z. Ankelyamov, newly arrived, is a Crimean Tatar. He worked as the chief of a subdivision of the oblast agroindustrial committee in Fergan. B. S. Chelebedzhanov, the present chief engineer and builder of the sovkhoz, is from Samarkand, also from the apparatus of the oblast agroindustrial committee. As they say here—a complete international.

A warm May rain, which suddenly spilled from a small storm cloud, forced the deputy director of the sovkhoz, Shevket Memetov, and me to seek shelter in the dining hall. Just at the time when the builders, machine operators and specialists were having their dinner. Russian, Crimean Tatar, and Ukrainian language was heard.

"Let's try a little borsch," Shevket suggested—a Ukrainian, rich borsch, with kidney beans. "And here is bread—Crimean Tatar bread. It is called kumech. In translation—between two pans. That is how they prepare it...."

We ate Ukrainian, rich borsch with kidney beans and kumech, talked about the people who should just about be ready to settle in the steppe Crimean Tanino. Let great human happiness settle with them in the new homes.